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ABSTRACT

This report presents the rationale for the Stanford Project on Academic Governance and a survey of the topics investigated in the project, the methodology used, and some of the conclusions reached. The project's specific objectives were to describe some major developments in academic governance and to apply sociological organization theory to decisionmaking in American colleges and universities. The historical roots of academic governance patterns were examined to put contemporary conditions in proper perspective. The research undertaken on contemporary conditions examined a sample of 249 colleges and universities, focusing on their organizational features and environmental relationships, and a large sample of faculty members, focusing on their autonomy, morale, and policy-influencing activities. On the basis of the information gathering, the project identifies some emerging trends that may affect governance patterns in the future: the tightening of resources, the reductions of faculty and presidential power, the increasing involvement of outside groups and students in academic decisionmaking, and the unionization of faculty members. (Author)

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AN OVERVIEW OF THE STANFORD PROJECT ON ACADEMIC GOVERNANCE

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- Teaching Effectiveness
- The Environment for Teaching
- Teaching Students from Low-Income Areas
- Teaching and Linguistic Pluralism
- Exploratory and Related Studies

The Stanford Project on Academic Governance, now at the stage of reporting its results, is a component of the Environment for Teaching Program.

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Abstract

This report presents the rationale for the Stanford Project on Academic Governance and a survey of the topics investigated in the project, the methodology used, and some of the conclusions reached. The project's specific objectives were to describe some major developments in academic governance and to apply sociological organization theory to decision making in American colleges and universities. The historical roots of academic governance patterns were examined to put contemporary conditions in proper perspective. The research undertaken on contemporary conditions examined a sample of 249 colleges and universities, focusing on their organizational features and environmental relationships, and a large sample of faculty members, focusing on their autonomy, morale, and policy-influencing activities. On the basis of the information gathered, the project identified some emerging trends that may affect governance patterns in the future: the tightening of resources, the reduction of faculty and presidential power, the increasing involvement of outside groups and students in academic decision making, and the unionization of faculty members.

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From the 1940's through the early 1960's, the governance of American colleges and universities came to be dominated by their faculties, as the "academic revolution" described by Jencks and Riesman (1968) propelled faculty members to the forefront of academic decision making. They enhanced their professional status, reserved for themselves many critical decisions concerning curriculum, faculty, and student affairs, and gained power in many of the academic policy-making networks. Of course, the growth of faculty power was centered in the elite institutions more than in the nonelite, and in the private institutions more than in the public ones. Nevertheless, the thrust of faculty autonomy and power was felt to some degree in all areas of higher education.

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Faculty autonomy and power developed when certain other forces converged: expanding enrollments; a widespread public belief in education's ability to solve social problems; increased financial support for education; an increase in large-scale research that required more faculty experts; and a shortage of qualified personnel that strengthened the bargaining position of faculty members. These forces prompted government to put a high priority on higher education and strengthened the role of the academic disciplines. Faculty influence became institutionalized within departments, in scholarly associations, and through the growing force of academic senates and the American Association of University Professors.

Recent events, however, have begun to undermine faculty power and threaten the status of higher education in general. Lower enrollments and an overabundance of doctoral graduates have caused the public to question its support of higher education, and lessened the bargaining power of faculty members. Changes have also occurred in the belief system of a society that once accepted the legitimacy of higher education's claim for public support. The backlash against the student revolts of the 1960's, the rising skepticism about education's ability to help solve social problems and to ensure occupational success, and the strident attacks on faculties by conservative politicians have produced a crisis of confidence. The consequences of these factors are now commonly recognized: less financial support for education and research, and more state control over educational policy. As a result we have entered a period of profound

change not only in the social role and financial status of our higher educational institutions but also in their decision-making processes. Our traditional understanding of decision making on American campuses is too one-dimensional to encompass the complex and diverse conditions that are now arising.

The Stanford Project on Academic Governance was launched in 1969 at the Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching as an attempt to better understand the changing, complex world of academic governance. The project's staff included both organizational sociologists and practice-oriented higher education administrators. The specific objectives of the project were twofold: first, to describe as concretely as possible some major developments in academic governance, such as the changing role of faculty, the functions of policy-making bodies, the efforts toward faculty unionization, and the control of state systems; and second, to expand the rich tradition of sociological organization theory and apply it to colleges and universities, which up to now have received only limited attention from social scientists. The wealth of data gathered during the course of the project is almost overwhelming, and the project's policy implications are far-reaching. The purpose of this report is to offer a survey of the questions investigated, the methodology used, and some of the key conclusions reached. Preliminary reports on two topics have already been published (Baldridge, Curtis, Ecker, &

Riley, 1973; Ecker & Baldridge, 1973).[1] Forthcoming reports will examine in greater detail other specific topics investigated.

Organizational Features of Colleges and Universities

Over the past two decades, social scientists in many fields have been analyzing the dynamics of complex organizations such as business firms, hospitals, military organizations, government bureaucracies, and educational institutions. The literature is now rich and diverse, covering organizational processes from interpersonal relationships to institutional structures to environmental relationships. (For major reviews of this literature see Blau & Scott, 1962; March, 1967; Thompson, 1967.) But academic institutions differ in several important respects from most other kinds of organizations:

1. Their goals are more ambiguous and diverse.
2. Their key employees are highly professionalized.
3. They serve clients instead of processing materials.
4. They have "fluid participation" with amateur decision makers who wander in and out of the decision process.
5. They have unclear technologies based more on professional skills than on standard operating procedures.

Traditional organization theory is not always applicable, then, to colleges and universities. Governance processes and practices from industry, the military, and government cannot be adopted without

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[1] For the theoretical background of the governance project, see Baldridge, 1971 a, b, c, e.

carefully considering whether they will work in the unique academic setting. Some traditional theories, particularly in the decision-making area, work well when they are applied to academic settings; others fail miserably.

Not only do colleges and universities differ from other organizations, but enormous differences exist even among various kinds of educational institutions. Three clusters of organizational factors predominate as determinants of institutional differences. First, there are environmental factors, such as the kind of formal external control the institution may be subject to, the political environment, the resource base, and the client pool from which the institution draws. For example, some colleges and universities are highly dependent on their environment and are controlled by churches or state governments; others are relatively free of direct control, have their own financial bases, and pit pressure groups against each other to gain a measure of independence.

Second, there is the nature of the professional task, such as the degree of fragmentation into disciplines, the degree of faculty professionalization, and the institution's academic goals. The professional tasks of some institutions mix graduate teaching, research, and undergraduate teaching; other institutions are fairly homogeneous and concentrate on one function.

Third, institutional size and complexity have an enormous impact on decision making, since they largely determine the degree to which decision-making processes are centralized and the involvement of

faculty and other groups in governance activities. Decision making is clearly quite different in massive multiversities, at one end of the spectrum, and in simple liberal arts colleges, at the other.

We will return often to these three clusters of variables, for they are key sources of differences in governance patterns. Moreover, in order to simplify the potentially vast array of different types of institutions, we have used these three variables as the basis for assigning institutions to one of eight categories:

1. Private multiversities
2. Public multiversities
3. Elite liberal arts colleges
4. Public comprehensives
5. Public colleges
6. Liberal arts colleges
7. Community colleges
8. Private junior colleges

Many critical characteristics involving governance, decision making, faculty morale, unionization, and other key political dynamics are systematically related to these eight types of institutions. Knowing the category an institution falls into thus allows one to make fairly good predictions about its governance system. Writers on academic governance have thus used such terms as "collegium: (Goodman,, 1962; Millett, 1962), "bureaucracy" (Stroup, 1966), "organized anarchy" (Cohen & March, 1974), and "federated professionalism" (Clark, 1970). Similarly, we have used the paradigm of a political system to summarize

the decision processes in colleges and universities. The dynamics of a specific decision process resemble those of a political struggle: the formation of interest groups, the use of tactics to influence decision makers, the merging of coalitions, the pressuring of legislative bodies, the negotiation of viable compromises. Over time these individual decisions crystallize into power structures in which various groups gain long-range power and control until changing events undermine their position. These long-range patterns of political dynamics and power differ in various types of academic organizations.

Governance Patterns: The Historical Roots

Most studies of academic governance have examined a particular governance activity during a single period, paying scant attention to the history that shaped those activities. Partly this is a methodological problem: most social scientists are not trained in the methods of historical analysis. (On the opposite side, the historians who have written a number of excellent histories of higher education have seldom focused on governance and decision-making processes.) But the past determines much of the present. In planning the Stanford Project on Academic Governance, therefore, we felt that it was imperative to take the historical development of academic governance patterns into account. We analyzed the bases of contemporary academic governance by focusing on the evolution of governance patterns in light of changes in environment, professional task, and size and complexity of educational institutions. Although the history of

governance patterns in this country goes back to the founding of Harvard, particular attention was paid to events after World War II , since they are crucial in determining current academic governance patterns. Here we shall confine our discussion to four broad observations that have emerged from the study.

First, historical changes in patterns of governance can be systematically linked to change in the organizational characteristics of higher educational institutions. That is, the nature of decision processes, the distribution of power within institutions, and the emerging system of supra-institutional management have slowly evolved from the changing environmental settings, the changing nature of the academic professions, and the changing size and complexity of our institutions of higher education. Early in America's history these factors led to the formation of small liberal arts colleges that were dominated by presidents and boards of trustees. These small institutions had no need for complex governance systems, but changes gradually created the need for new kinds of colleges and revised governance structures. This observation is important, for if we can trace the changes in governance patterns to changes in organizational features, then we may also be able to predict future trends with some success by examining those same features in the contemporary setting.

Second, several distinct types of colleges and universities have emerged over time. This pattern is familiar to sociologists: a relatively simple system gradually differentiates as it grows larger, enlarges its task, and generates resources. We believe

that the eight types of institutions previously mentioned are the result of the institutional diversification process that has occurred over the past two centuries.

Third, a multi-tiered governance system has emerged. By and large, older governance patterns have not died; instead, they have continued to exist side by side with the newer patterns. For example, at one time governance was strongly dominated by college and university presidents; later faculty activity gained prominence; and finally, state university systems and complex multiversities were added. We still have all those basic patterns intermixed in a complex governance structure.

Fourth, a single institution often changes over time. For example, institutions with strong presidential power have commonly developed into collegial settings; and those collegial settings are often superseded by strong presidents in times of financial crisis. Thus at any given time a single institution may have a dominant governance pattern, but as different circumstances arise in its environment, in its professional work activities, and its organizational characteristics, its governance patterns may be transformed.

Current Governance Patterns and the Role of the Faculty

In 1971 a survey was undertaken by the project's staff in an attempt to ascertain contemporary conditions in various institutions in three areas: governance patterns, faculty morale, and faculty policy-influencing activities. Let us preview some of the major conclusions of the survey.

Current Governance Patterns

A central purpose of the research was to determine what governance patterns were to be found in different types of institutions. In particular, we focused on the role of the faculty in institutional decision making, since faculty members play a vital role as the major professional group in education. Some attention was devoted to other groups as well, such as administrators, state officials, and outside pressure groups. Our investigation covered four areas that we consider particularly important.

Patterns of decision making. Who makes critical institutional decisions? How is the decision-making process distributed among various people in the institution? In particular, we examined two aspects of decision-making patterns: (1) "centralization versus decentralization," a measure of how widely distributed decision-making powers were; (2) "spheres of influence," a measure of what groups had influence over what issues.

Professional autonomy and organizational control. How much autonomy does the faculty have and to what degree is their work controlled by rules and regulations? To answer this question, we investigated two issues: (1) "departmental autonomy," a measure of how free the academic departments were to select faculty, grant promotions, control budgets, and manage other academic matters; (2) "standardization," a measure of the extent of rules and regulations governing the faculty's course loads, contracts, travel, and other aspects of their daily work.

Patterns of evaluation. Recent literature argues that the right to evaluate work and mete out rewards and punishments is the key to power in an organization (Scott, Dornbusch, Bushing, & Laing, 1967). If this is true, it is important to know whether the faculty feel that their professional peers or administrators act as their chief evaluators. If their choice is their peers, then the faculty have more influence and control; if it is administrators, then the faculty have less.

Institutional structures. In addition to describing the dynamics of decision making, we looked at the institutional structures that carry out those dynamics. Under what circumstances do representative university senates emerge? Where have collective bargaining units developed? How strong are the department systems in different institutions?

Faculty Morale

Faculty morale is an intrinsically interesting topic to most faculty members and administrators. The analysis of morale is also a theoretically important topic for sociologists and organization theorists. We regard decision processes in universities and colleges as essentially a form of political dynamics. Political scientists and sociologists who have studied political activities in society at large have often found that people's attitudes are central in determining their political activities. We analyzed extensively the morale levels of faculty in various institutional settings, tried to determine

the organizational factors that influenced faculty morale, and examined the relationship between faculty morale and participation in decision making. Some of the basic conclusions of our study are summarized below.

Faculty moraie was assessed by measuring general level of trust in administrators and general satisfaction with working conditions. About 60 percent of all faculty members had a high level of trust in their administrators: they believed their administrators were competent, shared their professional values, and worked to enhance the academic programs of the campus. There were some interesting differences in trust levels among faculties in different types of institutions: the faculties with the greatest trust were those in elite liberal arts colleges (72 percent) and private multiversities (66 percent); those with the least trust were in two-year colleges (54 percent) and public comprehensives (55 percent); about 63 percent of the faculty in remaining institutions displayed a high level of trust.

About 66 percent of all faculty expressed a high degree of satisfaction with their working conditions including their offices, salaries, students, and teaching loads. There were enormous differences, however, among faculties in different types of institutions: the level of satisfaction was highest in high-prestige institutions (about 80 percent in multiversities and elite liberal arts colleges) and lowest in the two-year colleges (around 50 percent). The levels of satisfaction probably corresponded closely to objective working conditions.

There are a number of factors that might account for the levels of trust and satisfaction displayed by a particular faculty:

1. Objective working conditions. The better the actual conditions in terms of salary, student, and teaching load, the greater the satisfaction reported by the faculty.

2. External pressure. The more the faculty felt threatened by powerful outside groups (trustees, church officials, legislators), the lower the morale evidenced.

3. Reference groups. The level of morale partly depended on a faculty's "reference group." Some objectively disadvantaged groups (e.g., community college faculty) compared themselves favorably with even more disadvantaged groups (e.g., high school teachers) and consequently had higher morale than might be expected. On the other hand, some privileged groups did not have particularly high morale: they had many advantages, but they had learned to expect even more!

4. Policy participation. Faculty groups with a direct role in decision making had higher morale; those who felt helpless had lower morale. This was true even when factors such as institutional quality and size were taken into account.

Finally, our investigation showed that militancy and unionism among faculty members were closely related to morale: the more widespread the feelings of dissatisfaction and distrust on a campus, the more faculty members were unionized or expressed union sympathies.

Faculty Policy-Influencing Activities

Decision making in the academic organization has many of the features of a political process. One of these is the use of a wide range of policy-influencing tactics by faculty: directly appealing to administrators, pressuring trustees, participating in departmental

committees, forming professional associations and unions, going on strike. Our findings in several areas seem particularly important.

First, as in almost any political system, the majority of potential participants are inactive. About 55 to 60 percent of all faculty members surveyed said they almost never get involved in policy-influencing activities.

Second, faculty members with different individual characteristics engage in different types of policy-influencing activities. As might be expected, older, higher-ranking faculty members were more involved in formal policy-influencing activities as departmental chairmen, in committee work, or in senate activities. Younger, lower-ranking faculty members were either more militant (they verbally supported unions and joined them more often) or withdrew in the common pattern of apathy. There were small differences between faculty members in different academic fields; there were few differences between females and males.

Third, faculty members in different types of institutions vary in their patterns of policy-influencing behavior, though not as much as might be expected. Specifically, all institutions had about the same level of apathy: somewhat over half the faculty do little to influence policies. In the smaller, less prestigious colleges, a slightly higher proportion of faculty members was involved in formal policy-influencing activities in their academic departments, in committees, or in faculty senates. In larger, more prestigious institutions a slightly lower proportion was involved. The community colleges and state colleges

had significantly more unions (about 38 percent of these institutions had unions by 1974, compared to almost none of the other types of institutions). These same colleges led in militant attitudes among faculty members, such as expressions of sympathy for strikes and demands for formal collective bargaining. However, a significant minority in all types of institutions voiced such attitudes.

Emerging Trends in Academic Governance

By extrapolating from our knowledge of governance patterns in the past and the present, we have arrived at some hypotheses about the future, even though making predictions is risky business.

Resources

Both decreased enrollments and the slackening of public support have drastically reduced the resources available to higher educational institutions. What impact will tightened resources have on academic governance? Although we do not have longitudinal data, we can anticipate some of the consequences by examining existing institutions with different levels of financial support. In this way we can make some intelligent guesses about what happens to governance processes when institutions move from financial feast to famine.

Two consequences are likely. First, most institutions will experience high levels of conflict as departments, schools, and units compete for resources. Personnel and tenure decisions will loom ever larger as sources of tension, and union activity will flourish as a protective strategy. Second, more and more power will be concentrated

in a few central figures--deans, presidents, and increasingly, trustees and legislators.

Faculty Power

A number of critical changes--tightening of the job market, the decrease in research funds, and the encroachment of outside pressure groups--have diminished faculty influence over decision processes in most institutions. These changes have resulted in restricted budgets, frozen faculty salaries, and elimination of some departments, and a tendency among administrators to ignore faculty views in making major decisions. Thus faculty members feel increasingly impotent, particularly those in local community college systems and in stringently regulated state college networks. Of course, not all faculties in all institutions feel threatened, but it seems probable that most faculties sense a growing personal and professional isolation from the centers of power.

Presidential Power

Not only are faculties likely to perceive themselves in a steadily weakening position, but presidents of many institutions appear to be hemmed in by new controversies and crises. Simultaneously, they feel that they have less and less power at their disposal to deal with these events. As powerful state systems have developed, many presidents have found themselves in the awkward position of middle-level managers who are held responsible by everyone--the faculty from below and the state system from above. Even in private colleges and universities, forceful outside pressure groups and financial shortages have limited

a president's ability to maneuver. In fact, in their analysis of the American college presidency, Cohen and March (1974) suggest that the growing institutional complexity of American universities has turned them into "organized anarchies" that are virtually unmanageable. This development, they argue, has produced a generation of presidents who are largely ceremonial figures with little opportunity for taking action. Although we seriously doubt that American college presidents are as impotent as Cohen and March suggest, it is nevertheless true that environmental, financial, and institutional forces have combined to reduce substantially the once dominant power of the president.

Outside Groups

The day is long past when the faculty and the president largely governed institutions of higher education. Now a multitude of outside groups--foundations, federal funding agencies, parents, governors, state budget officials, and a bewildering collection of political interest groups--demand and win a voice in academic decision making. Traditionally, studies of academic governance have been concerned with the internal operation of institutions. Now academic decision processes often take place in power centers outside the institution, such as state legislatures, system coordination boards, and local community college districts. This change obviously reflects the fact that higher education has evolved from an almost totally private system in colonial days to one in which the majority of students are enrolled in public institutions.

Students

The student revolutions of the 1960's affected institutional decision making in a number of ways. On the one hand, they drew opposition from the environment in an almost unprecedented fashion. On the other, they opened up channels for student views and demands to be heard and reacted to. The influence of students may be short-lived, however, for budget constraints and market pressures may prompt many faculties to struggle for the reins of power. In the process students may be firmly shut out, even before their newly gained power is consolidated.

Collective Bargaining

Professionals in education have begun to consider collective bargaining as a vehicle for retaining faculty power where it exists, seizing power where it is missing, and regaining power where it has been lost. A few years ago there was virtually no union activity in American colleges and universities. Today unions are a potent and rising force. Competing union-like groups are vying for recognition, state networks are developing negotiation systems, and bargaining laws are being pushed in the legislatures. Some predict that the movement will sweep higher education; others suggest that it will not grow much more than it already has. In any event, collective bargaining in higher education must be reckoned with in any analysis of governance processes.

Research Methodology

Our research procedures were designed with three broad goals in

mind. First, we were concerned about methodological diversity. Although survey instruments were the backbone of the project, we used a number of different techniques to investigate academic governance. Historical analysis, interviews with college presidents, case studies, and an extensive review of the literature on organization theory and higher education administration buttressed the survey material.

Second, we wanted to make a comparative analysis. Many case studies in higher education have concentrated on a single institution, with no basis for comparing one institution with another. By contrast, we attempted to collect comparative data by using identical instruments in a large number of institutions.

Third, we designed the project to be truly representative of the full range of American colleges and universities. Because of the diversity in American higher education no single case study can possibly be representative. For example, major universities are quite different from state colleges, and local community colleges are quite different from private liberal arts colleges. But much of the research on decision making done by scholars at major universities assume that those universities are the basic arena of action. For example, Blau's The Organization of Academic Work (1973) simply excludes two-year colleges from the analysis altogether, as does Pace's The Demise of Diversity (1974). Parsons and Platt's The American University (1973) was written by two Harvard scholars, and its analysis often appears to apply to the particular university. Baldridge's Power and Conflict in the University (1971) is a case study of an atypical institution, New

York University. Clark's The Distinctive College (1970) analyzes Reed, Swarthmore, and Antioch colleges, three small, elite institutions that have little in common with mainstream American higher education. Cohen and March's Leadership and Ambiguity (1974) is weighted in the direction of large, wealthy schools and excludes two-year colleges from the sample. To avoid this imbalance in our study, we collected data from a wide variety of institutions across the country.

Finally, we used historical materials to round out the picture. As much as possible we included historical material dealing with governance patterns and traced contemporary conditions back to their origins.

The following sections describe our methodological procedures in greater detail.

Samples

We were concerned about two kinds of samples: a sample of all colleges and universities in the nation, and a sample of the faculty members and administrators within each institution.

Institutions. A sample of approximately 250 American colleges and universities was drawn as both representative and manageable in terms of time and other resources. In 1970 there were 2,592 institutions in the College Entrance Examination Board's list of colleges and universities in the United States. From that list we sampled all institutions that met the following criteria: (1) those that had a freshman class; (2) those that awarded at least an Associate (two-year) degree; and (3) those that were not federal institutions (not

service academies).

A completely random sample would have included a large proportion of community colleges and such a small number of large universities that there would not be enough of the latter for statistical analysis. Consequently, we undersampled community colleges by one-half the correct proportion and then weighted them double later in the procedure. Data were collected from 185 four-year schools and 64 community colleges, a total of 249 institutions. When the community colleges were weighted double, the adjusted, weighted sample was 300 institutions, the number used in all reports on the project.

In order to check for representativeness, our sample of 300 institutions was compared to the total of 2,592 institutions in the nation along five dimensions that were available on the College Entrance Examination Board's data decks: (1) highest degree offered by the institution; (2) location of institution by CEEB geographic region; (3) an admissions selectivity rating developed by CEEB; (4) location of institution by national geographic section; and (5) sex of the clientele of each institution (coeducational, all male, or all female). The final study sample was also compared to several other large study samples drawn for major research projects conducted in the 1960's and early 1970's. It was found to be very representative.

Individuals. Because the sample of institutions was so large, it was not possible to include every faculty member in each institution. The total would have been in excess of 57,000 individuals. In order to obtain a sample that would be representative and manageable, a

sampling scheme was developed in which institutions were stratified by size of faculty (Table 1). Different proportions of faculty members were drawn from schools of different sizes, with larger proportions being drawn from smaller schools. Faculty lists were obtained from college catalogs, and five administrators were included from each school: the President, Vice-President for Academic Affairs, Vice-President for Student Affairs, Vice-President for Business Affairs, and Vice-President for Development (or their equivalents if these titles were not used).

TABLE 1

Number of Faculty Chosen from Institutions of Varying Faculty Size

No. of faculty in institution	No. of faculty chosen from institution
1 - 50	All
51 - 100	50
101 - 150	60
151 - 250	85
251 - 350	125
350+	175

Sources of Data

Once the institutional and individual samples were selected, we began gathering information from a variety of sources, as Figure 1 shows.

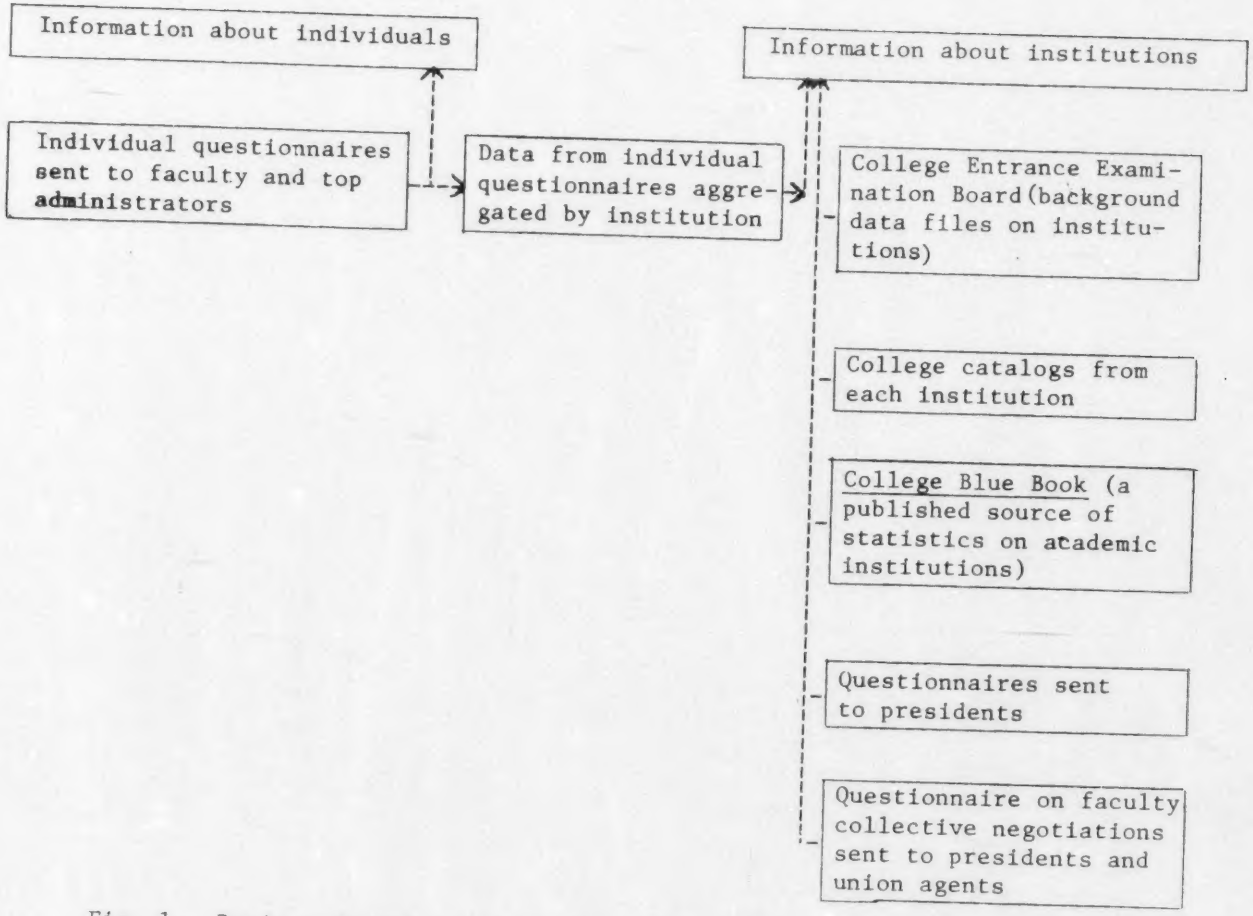
Information about individuals
Information about institutions
Individual questionnaires sent to faculty and top administrators
Data from individual questionnaires aggregated by institution
College Entrance Examination Board (background data files on institutions)
College catalogs from each institution
College Blue Book (a published source of statistics on academic institutions)
Questionnaires sent to presidents
Questionnaire on faculty collective negotiations sent to presidents and union agents

Fig. 1. Basic methodology of the Stanford Project on Academic Governance.

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Individual questionnaire. An individual questionnaire was the primary source of raw data for this study. Since the questionnaire was to be answered by individuals with different academic backgrounds holding different positions in a wide variety of institutions, pretesting was of paramount importance. It took seven months to develop the individual questionnaire, pretest it at four institutions, and revise it.[1]

The questionnaire was administered to a total of 17,296 individuals randomly selected from college catalogs. Several waves of questionnaires and follow-up letters were mailed in the spring of 1971. Complete usable questionnaires were returned by 9,237 individuals, for a return rate of 53 percent. In the analysis stage the stratified samples were weighted in order to estimate the possible results if every faculty member in each of the institutions sampled had been questioned. The weighted total number of respondents was 57,000.

In addition to the usefulness in studying individual characteristics, the questionnaire responses could also be aggregated to reveal institutional patterns. For example, we could compare two institutions on the percentage of faculty joining a union, thus obtaining an institutional score based on aggregated individual responses.

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[1] Big Bend Community College, in Washington, and Foothill Junior College, San Jose State College, and Stanford University, all in California, were used as pretest sites for the individual questionnaire.

College Entrance Examination Board data. The research staff of the College Entrance Examination Board in Palo Alto, California, was most cooperative. The CEEB has data on almost all colleges and universities in the nation, including information on selectivity in admissions, type of formal control, geographic location, and size.

College catalogs. The most recent catalogs were obtained for all institutions sampled.

The College Blue Book. The College Blue Book (Russell, ed., 1970), published yearly, contains descriptive information about all accredited post-secondary educational institutions in the United States. The data used as additional indicators of institutional background characteristics included number of faculty, number of students enrolled by classes and by degree programs, size of library, and tuition costs.

College presidents' questionnaire. Information about the relationships between various institutions and their social and political environments was obtained from a questionnaire sent to the president of each institution sampled. Every president eventually responded to the questionnaire.

Questionnaire on collective negotiations. In 1974 the project's staff constructed a questionnaire on faculty collective negotiations and their impact on academic governance. This questionnaire was sent to the president of each institution in the project's original sample (N=240), to the presidents of all other institutions that had adopted faculty unions by January 1974 (N=300), and to the bargaining agents in every unionized institution (N=300). In this way, all institutions

could be compared to the project's sample institutions. Responses were received from about 65 percent of the total population sampled. The questionnaires concerning collective negotiations were the final item in the complex set of data sources used by the project.

This report was intended to present a comprehensive picture of the entire Stanford Project on Academic Governance. Specific topics will be treated in detail in forthcoming Research and Development Memoranda from SCRDT.

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